By the time of the Muslim conquests of the Middle East, Eastern Christianity had experienced numerous divisions caused by ideological and political confrontations. Controversies over the union of the divinity and the humanity of Christ, perceived as an essential point of Christian doctrine, as well as the Byzantine imperial policy, aiming at strengthening Byzantium’s influence in Syria, Arabia, the Caucasus, and Egypt, had resulted in the separation of the ethno-religious communities of these provinces from Byzantium. The controversies remained unsettled, and the divisions, created by them, continued.

To a Muslim observer, Eastern Christianity looked like a hodgepodge of various denominations among which the following three were the most influential: the Syro-Persian Christianity, the Graeco-Roman Orthodoxy, and the anti-Chalcedonian faction, insisting on “one nature” of Christ. The Muslim jurist and doxographer Muhammad aš-Šahrastānī (1076–1153) summarized this as follows in his celebrated Book of Religions and Sects (Kitāb al-milal wa-n-nihal): “Then Christians split up into seventy two sects, the three big divisions among them being: the Melkites, the Nestorians, and the Jacobites.”

A similar view of the Christian divisions, differentiating between three main communities, is also found in the Christian author ‘Alī ibn Dāwūd al-Arfādī’s The Book of the Concordance of Faith (Kitāb iǧtimā’ al-amāna), influenced by the Islamic doxographical tradition: “[Christians] are reducible to three divisions (firaq), for they ascend to three denominations (maḏāhib)

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(1) The notion that the Christians were divided into seventy two groups was probably influenced by Muslim Ḥadīqs: see G. H. A. Juynboll, Encyclopedia of Canonical Hadīth, Leiden, Boston, 2007, pp. 437, 458.

as their roots, namely the division of the Nestorians, the division of the Melkites, and the division of the Jacobites; everything that exists apart from these three communities (al-milal) are [in fact] divisions which originate from them and are reducible to them.”

It is a conventional view that the denomination of Jacobites owes its name to Jacob Baradaeus (West-Syriac: Burđ ŏnû), the sixth-century Syrian bishop who was instrumental in establishing a church hierarchy separate from and standing in opposition to the Chalcedonian one, recognized by the Byzantine authorities. This notion of the origins of the term “Jacobites” is based on both Syriac and Greek sources. Thus, Michael the Great, the famous West-Syrian chronicler, wrote about it as follows: “Jacob of [the monastery of] Psilita, who was ordained [bishop] for Edessa, went about the countries of the East and bestowed ordination upon the Orthodox [i.e. the anti-Chalcedonians]. He put the appearance of a vagabond, especially while en route, for fear of persecutions.” Another famous West-Syrian author, Gregorius Abū-l-Farağ Bar ‘Erūyō (Bar Hebraeus), remarks: “...until this Jacob appeared, and then they increased in number. And because of this they were called Jacobites after him.”


It is worth mentioning, however, that the adjective “Jacobite” (محمص) was associated, in its use by the Syrians, not only with the name of Jacob Baradaeus, but also with the famous Syriac poet Jacob of Sarug, bishop of Batnān (fifth–sixth century). The twelve-syllable metre typical of Jacob of Sarug’s hymns was called “Jacobite” after him.\(^8\)

As one of the earliest Greek witnesses to the origins of the name “Jacobites,” one should point out the treatise On Heresies by John of Damascus:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Αἰγυπτιακοὶ, οἱ καὶ Σχηματικοί, μονοφυσῖται, οἱ προφάσει τοῦ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συντάγματος τοῦ τόμου ἀποσχίζαντες τῆς όρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας. Αἰγυπτιακοὶ δὲ προσείρηται διὰ τοὺς πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους κατάφεραν αὐτοῦ τοῦ σχήματος ἐπὶ Μαρκιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τῶν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα όρθοδοξοὶ ὑπάρχοντες. Οὕτω δὲ προσπαθεῖα τῇ πρὸς τοῦ ἐν Αλεξανδρείᾳ Δίοσκορον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου καθαιρεθέντα ὡς τῶν Ἐντιχους δογμάτων συνήγορον αντεπάθησαν τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ μυρία τότε ἐπ’ αὐτῶν μεμψίες κατ’ αὐτῆς ἀνεπλάσαντο, ὡς προλαβόντως ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ βίβλῳ ἧδονας ὑπάρχοντας αὐτῶν καὶ νικηφόρονας ἀποδείχαντες. Ὡν ἀρχηγοὶ Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, εἰς τὸν Θεοδοσιανὸν, Ἰάκωβος ὁ Σύρος, εἰς τὸν Ιακωβίτας. Τῶν δὲ συνίστορες καὶ βεβαιῶτας καὶ ὑπὲρμαχοι Σευῆρος, ὁ τῆς Ἀντιχιρίων φθορεύς, καὶ ὁ τὰ μάταια πονέσας Ἰωάννης ὁ Τριθεΐτης, οἱ τὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀρνούμενοι σωτηρίας μυστήριον.
\end{align*}\]

The Egyptians, who are also called Schematics/Schisms\(^10\) and Monophysites, separated from the orthodox Church on the pretext of that document <approved> at Chalcedon [and known as] the Tome. They have been called Egyptians because of the fact that during the reign of Emperors Marcian and Valentinian the

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Egyptians were the first authors of this particular kind of heresy, being orthodox in what concerns the rest. Because of their strong attachment to Dioscorus of Alexandria, who was deposed by the Council of Chalcedon for defending the teachings of Eutyches, they opposed this council and to the limit of their ability fabricated innumerable charges against it, which charges we have already taken up in this book and sufficiently refuted by showing them to be clumsy and stupid. Their leaders were Theodosius of Alexandria, from whom come the Theodosians, and Jacob the Syrian, from whom come the Jacobites.11 Privy to these as champions and strong defenders were Severus, the seducer from Antioch, and John the Tritheite <i.e. John Philoponus>, who expended his efforts on vain things. Both of these last denied the mystery of the common salvation. They wrote many things against the inspired council of the 630 Fathers of Chalcedon, and they set many snares, so to speak, and laid stumbling blocks by the wayside for those who are lost in their pernicious heresy. Also by holding the doctrine of individual substances, they destroy the mystery of the Incarnation.12

“Jacob the Syrian, from whom come the Jacobites”: this seems to be a definite identification of the origin of this denomination’s name. It is, however, worth calling attention to the fact that the evidence from other Greek sources is not so definite. If one explores the relevant passage in the <i>Narratio de Rebus Armeniæ</i>, for instance — a Greek document of the same period, written from the Chalcedonian point of view — one will find that the origin of the name “Jacobites” is associated there with the aforementioned Jacob of Sarug (or of Baṭnān), and <i>not</i> with Jacob Baradaeus:

(48) Μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰουλιανὸς τις τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Ἰακώβος ὁ Πιτνάνου διηρέθησαν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἐν ἡμέραις Ἰουστίνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ἰάκωβος οἱ Πιτνάνου διῃρέθησαν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἐν ἡμέραις Ἰουστίνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Περσῶν Καβατᾶ. (49) Ὁ τετελεσμένος ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς εἴπεν […] (56) Ὁ θεός οἱ ἀκούοντες αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθησαν Ἰουλιανῖται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰακώβου Ἰακωβῖται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Σεβήρου Σεβηριανοῖ.


(12) On <i>Heresies</i>, 83. I reproduce, with a few modifications, the English translation of Fr. H. CHASE, Saint John of Damascus, <i>Writings</i> (The Fathers of the Church, A New Translation, 37), New York, 1958, pp. 138–139.
Considering that the origin of the name “Jacobites” was associated with Jacob of Sarug in such a relatively early source as the Narratio de Rebus Armeniæ, it is not surprising to find a similar association in the treatise of a much later Arabic-speaking Coptic author al-Mu’tamān ibn al-‘Assāl (the thirteenth century), The Summa of the Foundations of Religion and the Traditions (lit. What was Heard) of Reliable Knowledge (Mağmū’ usūl ad-dīn wa-masmū’ maḥṣūl al-yaqīn). In the eighth chapter of this work, al-Mu’tamān ibn al-‘Assāl retells, among other subjects, the treatise of the Arabic-speaking author of the East-Syriac (“Nestorian”) Christian tradition Abū-l-Farağ ’Abd Allāh ibn at-Ṭayyib al-‘Irāqī (–1043), where he says the following:

١٦٧ وهو رأي الفرقة المنسوبة إلى كيروس، بطريرك الاسكندرية، وتابعه فيه بعقوب النحوجي، المشتق لها الاسم منه.

167. This is the opinion of the division <of Christians>, related to Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, in which he was followed by Jacob of Sarug, from whom they got their name <Jacobites>.

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Let us now focus on traditions concerning Jacob Baradaeus. In the Arabic Christian literature of Egypt, they were gathered together and connected to the name “Jacobites” by the Melkite patriarch Eutychius also known as Saʾid ibn al-Bīṭrīq (or al-Batrīq, if his name is transcribed in accordance with its colloquial pronunciation:16 876/7–940; patr. 933–940). In his History, Compiled with Verification and Confirmation (at-Taʾrīḥ al-maḡmūʿ alā-t-taḥqīq wa-t-taṣdīq; § 249) he wrote:

وكان لسوس تلميذ يقال له يعقوب وكان نبأسه من خرق برادع الدواب يرفع بعضها بعض وكان يسمي يعقوب البرادي. وكانت مقالته ان المسيح طبيعة واحدة طبيعة من طبيعتين وجوهر من جوهرين مشية واحدة موافق لقول سوروس وديسيرس وئوس الحرة النص إلى نحو الحيرة والجزيرة وتكررت وحران وارمينية فافسمد امامة الناس هناك وصيرهم يقولوا بمقالته فسمى التابعين الذين يعقوب واللابلل بمقالة يعقوبين مشتق من اسم يعقوب.17

Severus had a disciple named Jacob whose clothes were made of shreds of saddle-cloths (barāḍīʾ) of pack animals bound together. <For this reason> he was called Jacob Baradaeus (al-Barāḍīʾi — “Saddler”). His teaching was that Christ is one nature, nature from two natures, and essence from two essences, one will, which was in accordance with the sayings of the accursed Severus, Dioscorus, and Eutychius. He went about the countries of al-Ḥira, al-Ḡazira, Tikrit, Ḥarrān, and Armenia, and corrupted the faith of the people there. He made so that they accepted his teaching. The followers of the religion of Jacob and those who spoke according to his teaching were called “Jacobites,” <a term> that comes from the name “Jacob.”

The interesting detail provided by Saʾid ibn al-Bīṭrīq’s account — that Jacob was a disciple of the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Anti-

Jacob Baradaeus is also introduced into the narrative as a follower and propagator of the doctrine of Jacob of Sarug. A. SCHER, Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert). Seconde partie (I) (PO, 7:2), Paris, 1909, repr. 1950, p. 140[48].

(16) The name etymologically comes from the Latin patricius via the Greek πατρικιος.

och Severus (456–538; patr. 512–518) — is confirmed by the History of another Arabic-speaking Coptic author Buṭrus ibn ar-Rāḥib. In the paragraph about the Byzantine emperor Anastasius (§159), in the tabular chronological part of his History, Ibn ar-Rāḥib remarks:

\[\text{كان لسصلاح تلميذ اسمه يعقوب.}\]

Severus had a disciple whose name was Jacob.

The historical works of Saʿīd ibn al-Bītṛq and Buṭrus ibn ar-Rāḥib were employed by another Christian Arabic-speaking Egyptian author of the Coptic tradition Ǧirgis al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd (1205–1273).

In his account of the origins of the name “Jacobites,” we do not only find a retelling of what had already been reported by earlier historians, but also a very peculiar theory concerning the origin of the name. Moreover, al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd unambiguously rejects the association of the term “Jacobites” with the name of Jacob Baradaeus, suggested by Saʿīd ibn al-Bītṛq! The first volume of al-Makīn’s world history, entitled by him The Blessed Compendium (al-Māqmūʿ al-mubārak), still remains unpublished, so the relevant passages are quoted below from manuscripts containing the work (Paris BnF ar. 294 and Vat. ar. 168 and 169).

Variant readings are given in the footnotes.

\[\text{أمورت الملكية} \text{ على مذهب مربيان} \text{ على مذهب دیفسرس وقیل انهم}\]

[\text{BnF ar. 294, fol. 232r}]


(22) A. Mai, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita, t. IV: Codices Arabici, Romae, 1831, pp. 308–309.

(23) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:8: الملكية ومنارت...

(24) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:9: دیفسرس

(25) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187r:19: انما:
The Melkites followed the doctrine of the emperor Marcian, and the Jacobites — the doctrine of Dioscorus. It is said that they were called "Jacobites" because the lay name of Dioscorus was Jacob, and while in exile, he would write to the faithful and admonish them to hold firmly to the confession of the poor exile Jacob. And it is also said that perhaps he had a disciple named Jacob, and while in exile he would send him to the people to confirm them in the faith, and thus they were called so because of him. And it is also said that Jacob was a disciple of Severus, patriarch of

(26) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187r:20, Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:9

(27) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:10

(28) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187r:20, Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:10

(29) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:1, Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:11

(30) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:11

(31) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:1; Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:11: وهو


(33) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:3, Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:12

(34) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:3; Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:12:

(35) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:4: ليتبئهم

(36) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:5: تلميد الساوريس

(37) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:6

(38) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:6

(39) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:15

(40) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:7, Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:16

(41) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:16


(43) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187v:8, Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:17: abs.

(44) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r:17
Antioch, and his confession was in accordance with that of Severus, and thus they were called so because of him, since (father) Severus would send Jacob, his disciple, to the faithful to confirm them in the faith of (father) Dioscorus, and thus they were called so because of him.45

(Saʿīd) ibn [al-]Bitriq said: Severus had a disciple named Jacob Baradaeus (al-Barādīʿī — “Saddler”), and he would go about the country urging the people to return to the teaching of Severus and Dioscorus. He [i.e. Saʿīd ibn al-Bitriq] said that Jacobites were called so because of this Jacob, but it is not as he said at all, because Jacobites had already been called Jacobites since the time of Dioscorus, as we explained earlier.54

Thus, we see that, according to the interpretation of al-Maḵīn ibn al-ʿAmīd, Jacobites owe their name not to the architect of the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy in Syria Jacob Baradaeus, but to the leader of the opposition to Chalcedon in Egypt the Pope of Alexandria Dioscorus (–454). Even when mentioning another version of the origin of the name “Jacobites,” according to which Severus had a disciple named Jacob, al-Maḵīn ibn al-ʿAmīd took pains to emphasize that this Jacob was a propagator of the teachings of Dioscorus.

(45) al-Maḵīnʿ al-mubārak. BnF ar. 294, fol. 232r; Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187r; Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r.
(46) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 194r:12, Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r:7: سعيد
(47) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r:7: لسأوئس
(48) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 194r:14, Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r:8: فكان يطفؤ: مقالة
(49) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 194r:14: مقالة
(50) Vat. ar. 168, fol. 194r:15: ديسفوروس وسأوئس: Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r:9:
(51) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r:10: هذا يتعقو: مقالة
(52) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r:10: ديسفوروس
(53) Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r:11: مقالة
(54) al-Maḵīnʿ al-mubārak. BnF ar. 294, fol. 239r; Vat. ar. 168, fol. 194r; Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r.
Later authors seem to have been slow to accept Ibn al-'Amīd’s interpretation, presented in the *Blessed Compendium*. In any event, such a famous Arabic-speaking Coptic author of the thirteenth–fourteenth century as Abū-l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (–1324)⁵⁵ does not seem to have mentioned it at all. In his encyclopedic work *Light [Dispelling] the Darkness and a Clear Explanation of the Liturgy* (*Miṣbāḥ az-zulma wa-ʿidāḥ al-ḥidmāt*), he wrote:

وكان مؤمن يسمى يعقوب البرذعي قد وسمه البطريرك
ساويرس أسفنا وهو في السجن فصار يدور البلاد ويجول
البقاء ويثبت المؤمنين في كل موضع على الأمانة
المستقيمة فلاني نسبة اليعقوبية. ⁵⁶

There was a faithful named Jacob Baradaeus (al-Barāḏa) whom the patriarch Severus, being in exile, ordained a bishop. And he started going about the country and visiting places, confirming the faithful everywhere in the right faith. From him comes the name “Jacobites.”

It is known that while composing his *Light [Dispelling] the Darkness*,⁵⁷ Ibn Kabar used the work of Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, and his version of the origin of the name “Jacobites” seems to be nothing but a retelling of what he read there, with the only difference that the “discipleship” of Jacob was transformed into his episcopal ordination by Severus of Antioch.⁵⁸ Neither does he invoke the association of the name “Jacobites” with Jacob of Sarug, even though we know that Ibn Kabar was familiar with the *Summa of the Foundations of Religion* by al-Muṭāmān ibn al-ʿAssāl, where he could find this interpretation.⁵⁹

At this point in our inquiry, we should turn to works of Muslim Egyptian authors to see how they interpret the origin of the term. Abū-l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Qalqašandī (1355/6–1418), a clerk of the

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⁵⁷) *Livre de la lampe des ténèbres*, p. 597 /[23], p. 598 /[24].


⁵⁹) *Livre de la lampe des ténèbres*, p. 597 /[23], p. 599 /[25].
Mamlūk Sultans’ ʿdiwān, composed an encyclopedia of all knowledge that could be professionally useful to a high-ranking official, especially in the fields of documentation management and diplomacy. This 14-volume work was entitled The Daybreak of the Weak-sighted [i.e. the recovery of their sight] on the Art of Composing [Official Documents] (Ṣubḥ al-a’ṣā fi ṣināʿat al-insā). Al-Qalqasandi collected information about various religious communities mainly with the purpose of using it in composing an efficient oath for those non-Muslims who would enter into interactions with the Muslim authorities. On Jacobites, he wrote, in particular, the following:

They are followers of Dioscorus who was patriarch of Alexandria in ancient times, being the eighth in the sequence of their patriarchs since the patriarchate of Mark the Evangelist, the successor to Peter the Apostle there. Ibn al-ʿAmid in his History says that adherents of his doctrine were called “Jacobites” because his name in his youth (fi-l-ʿilmānīyya) was Jacob. But it is also said that he had a disciple named Jacob, and they were called so because of him. It is also said that Severus (Ṣāwīrūs) patriarch of Antioch who adhered to the opinion of Dioscorus had a young servant named Jacob, and he would send him to his followers <to instruct them> to hold the faith of Dioscorus, and they were called so because of him. It is also said that they were called so after Jacob Baradaeus (al-Baradāgānī), a disciple of Severus (Ṣāwīrus), patriarch of Antioch, who became a monk in Constantinople and then went about the country summoning [the people] to the doctrine of Dioscorus. But

Ibn al-ʿAmīd says: Nothing of the kind; Jacobites had been called so after Dioscorus long before <the time of Severus>.63

٩٢٠ وقد تقدم في الكلام على النحل وهم أتباع ديسقرس، 

and his name in adolescence (fi-l-ḡilmāniyya) was Jacob; other people say that they are the followers of Jacob Baradaeus (al-Barḍaʿ ʿāni); yet others provided a different explanation. However, the historians hold the view that the first explanation is the correct one.62

It has been said earlier in our section on the sects: They are the followers of Dioscorus, whose name in adolescence (fi-l-ḡilmāniyya) was Jacob; other people say that they are the followers of Jacob Baradaeus (al-Barḍaʿ ʿāni); yet others provided a different explanation. However, the historians hold the view that the first explanation is the correct one.

It is evident that al-Qalqašandī’s account is based on the Blessed Compendium of al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd. This is witnessed by the author’s own indication as well as by the content of the text as a whole. It is noteworthy that al-Qalqašandī accepts the association of the name “Jacobites” with Dioscorus, called Jacob “in adolescence,” as the “correct view,” according to the historians. It should also be pointed out that there is a curious difference between the Blessed Compendium of al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd and in its retelling by al-Qalqašandī in how they designate the period when Dioscorus was called Jacob. According to the Blessed Compendium, “they were called ‘Jacobites’ because the name of Dioscorus as a layman was Jacob.” “As a layman” reads as fi-l-ʿalmāniyya in BnF ar. 294, fol. 232r, i.e. “in worldliness” or “in/among the laity,” if we read the word as an archaic plural form. In Vat. ar. 168, fol. 187r and Vat. ar. 169, fol. 167r, it reads fi-l-ʿalmāniyyin, i.e. “in/among the laity.” The reading “in adolescence” — fi-l-ḡilmāniyya — probably originates from the fact that the word ʿalmāniyya, designating a characteristically Christian notion not typical of Muslim usage, was misunderstood either by al-Qalqašandī himself or by a copyist or editor of his work.

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(61) Ṣuhb al-aʿšā fi ṣināʿat al-ḥinā, vol. 13, p. 278; al-Maḡmūʿ al-mubārak, BnF ar. 294, fol. 239r; Vat. ar. 168, fol. 194r; Vat. ar. 169, fol. 171r. See the quotation above.

Another Muslim Egyptian whose testimony concerning the origin of the name “Jacobites” is of interest to us is the famous Mamluk historian and geographer Taqi ad-Din Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Maqrizi (1364–1442). Eight chapters in the final part of his important work, The Book of Districts and Monuments in Egypt, in Cairo, and on the Nile, and the Reports Concerning Them (Kitab al-Ḫiṣat wa-l-āğar fi Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira wa-n-Nil wa-mā yata'allaq bihā min al-aḥbār) deal with the Copts. Being a great patriot of Egypt, al-Maqrizi wrote a detailed description of the Coptic history and the church hierarchy — a very thorough account unmatched by any other medieval Muslim work. The name “Jacobites” and the various interpretations of its origin did not escape al-Maqrizi’s notice:

(214) من هذا المجمع افتقر النصارى وصاروا ملكية على مذهب مرقبانوس 64 الملك ويعقوبية على رأي ديسيروس 65 وذلك في سنة ثلث 66 وتسعين وثمانية 66 لدقيقة يعقوبة (215) وقد اختلف في نسبة اليعقوبية بهذا فقيل ان ديسيروس كان يسمي قبل بطركته يعقوب، وأنه كان يكتب أو هو منافق 67 إلى أصحابه بأن يثبتوا على أمانة المسكين المنفي يعقوب 68 IQ وقيل بل كان له تلميذ اسمه يعقوب وكان يرسله وهو منافق إلى أصحابه فنسبوا إليه 69 IQ وقيل بل كان يعقوب تلميذ ساويرس بطركة انطاكية وكان على رأي ديسيروس فكان 70 نفى. ساويرس يبحث بيعقوب 69 إلى النصارى وثبتتهم على أمانة ديسيروس فنسبوا إليه 69 IQ وقيل بل 70 كان يعقوب كثير العبادة

63 Kitāb al-Ḫiṣat wa-l-āğar fi Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira wa-n-Nil wa-mā yata'allaq bihā min al-aḥbār. [Editio princeps], Būlaq, 1270/1853, vol. 2, p. 489; H. J. WETZER, Taki-eddini Makrizi, Historia Coptorum Christianorum in Aegypto Arabice, Solisbaici [Sulzbach], 1828, pp. 60, 62, 64 (text), pp. 61, 63, 65 (Latin translation); F. WÜSTENFELD, Macrizi’s Geschichte der Copten, Göttingen, 1845, S. 16 (text), S. 40–41 (German translation). The quotation is taken from the editio princeps, and significant different readings in WETZER 1828 and WÜSTENFELD 1845 are provided in the footnotes. The numbering of the paragraphs is reproduced from WETZER 1828.

64 WETZER 1828: مرفون; WÜSTENFELD 1845: منافق
65 WÜSTENFELD 1845: منافق
66 WETZER 1828, WÜSTENFELD 1845: وماية
67 WETZER 1828, WÜSTENFELD 1845: ومنفي
68 WETZER 1828, WÜSTENFELD 1845: وكان
69 WETZER 1828, WÜSTENFELD 1845: يعقوب
70 WETZER 1828, WÜSTENFELD 1845: abs.
The Christians were divided. The Melkites followed the doctrine of the emperor Marcian, and the Jacobites, the opinion of Dioscorus. This happened in the year 193 of [the era of] Diocletian. [...] Yet as regards the name Jacobites, there is difference of opinion. Some say that Dioscorus, before he became patriarch, was called Jacob, and that he would write from his exile to his followers, that they should follow the faith of the poor exile Jacob. Others say that he had a disciple named Jacob, and that during his exile he would send him to his followers, who took their name from him. Others again say that Jacob was a disciple of Severus patriarch of Antioch, who was of Dioscorus’ way of thinking, and that Severus would send this Jacob to the Christians, in order to confirm them in the faith of Dioscorus, and so they were called after him. Others say that Jacob was a very pious and ascetic man who clothed himself in the shreds of saddle-cloths, which is why he was called Jacob Baradaeus (al-Barāḏī ī – “Saddler”), that he would go about the country, bringing people to the doctrine of Dioscorus, and that whoever adopted his views was called after him “Jacobite.” And Jacob was also called Jacob of Sarug (as-Sarūği).

Obviously, al-Maqrīzī retold the information about Jacobites found in the Blessed Compendium of al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd (it is known that al-Maqrīzī used the Blessed Compendium while composing his own work) with the addition of a remark that identifies Jacob Baradaeus with Jacob of Sarug at the end of the passage. The “problematic” fi-l-ʿālmāniyya was skirted.


(72) I reproduce, with modifications, the English translation of S. C. MALAN (tr.), Ahmad ibn Ali al-Maqrīzī, A Short History of the Copts and of Their Church (Original documents of the Coptic Church, 3), London, 1873, pp. 58–59.

(73) И. Ю. КРАЧКОВСКИЙ, Избранные сочинения [Selected Works], Т. 4, Москва, Ленинград, 1957; repr. as И. Ю. КРАЧКОВСКИЙ, Арабская географическая литература [Arabic geographical Literature] (Классики отечественного востоковедения), Москва, 2004, c. 475.
It should be noted that the idea that the name “Jacobites” comes from the lay name of the Pope of Alexandria Dioscorus, a hero of the Egyptian anti-Chalcedonians, was probably borrowed by al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd from unspecific Coptic texts, available to him. Later on, it spread widely and, it seems, became firmly rooted. There are later testimonies to its occurrence. Thus, for instance, Francesco Suriano (1450–1529), a Venetian Franciscan Friar, who traveled extensively in the Middle East, including Egypt, left us his travelogues which formed his Treatise on the Holy Land.75 While mentioning Jacobites, he states: “The Jacobites originate from the heretic Jacob, Patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt” (“Li Iacobiti sono derivati da Iacobo heretico Patriarcha de Alexandria de Hegypto”).76 Three centuries later, the English archaeologist John Henry Middleton (1846–1896), in his article “The Copts of Egypt and Their Churches,” published in the weekly The Academy, wrote the following: “The unorthodox party were called Jacobites, from Yaʿgub (Jacob), the name of Dioscorus before he became Patriarch.”77

**CONCLUSION**

Based on the foregoing discussion, the following observations can be made.

1. The figure of Jacob Baradaeus has sometimes been overshadowed by that of Jacob of Sarug. This is witnessed, as shown above, by a seventh-century Greek text, by the Arabic Summa of a Coptic author, and by a comprehensive work, written by a medieval Muslim Egyptian historian. Strictly speaking, one cannot even be certain that for John of Damascus, “Jacob the Syrian” whom he mentions in his heresiographical treatise, meant Jacob Baradaeus. The poetic works of Jacob of Sarug gained popularity in all the traditions of Syriac Christianity,

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(75) G. Golubovich, Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell’Oriente di Frate Francesco Suriano, Missionario e Viaggiatore del Secolo XV (Siria, Palestina, Arabia, Egitto, Abissinia, ecc.), Milano, 1900; B. Bagatti, E. Hoade (tr.) Francesco Suriano, Treatise on the Holy Land, Jerusalem, 1949.

(76) Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell’Oriente, 78 (ch. 32); B. Bagatti, E. Hoade 1949, 91.

and his fame can explain why it was sometimes his name that was associated with the adjective “Jacobite.” Additionally, one could question the real significance of Jacob Baradaeus who is usually credited as a founder of the West-Syriac church tradition.

2. The formation and the development of the traditional Muslim heresiography contributed to the spread of the notion that Christians are divided into three principal denominations: the Nestorians, the Melkites, and the Jacobites. The idea that the three principal divisions embrace all the positions in Christian theology was likewise accepted among Eastern Christian thinkers. Thus, the linguistically, ethnically, and historically diverse communities of the opponents of Chalcedon were fused together in the single denomination of “Jacobites.”78 Those of them who were in no way associated with the activity of Jacob Baradaeus — in particular, the anti-Chalcedonians of Egypt — were, therefore, motivated to find an alternative “explanation” for being identified as “Jacobites.” This task became especially urgent following the process of arabization, which erased the most obvious cultural characteristics, differentiating them from their coreligionists of the Syro-Palestinian region.

3. The theory concerning the origin of the name “Jacobites,” presented by al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd in his Blessed Compendium, conformed to the Coptic ideas about their place and role in the history of Eastern Christianity. In this Coptic version of the story, the Jacobites did not take their name from some poorly-dressed Syrian preacher, but from the brilliant Egyptian leader of the anti-Chalcedonian opposition: the Pope of Alexandria Dioscorus. This theory, obviously stem-

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(78) An analogous question can certainly be posed concerning the designation “Melkites,” in which both the Latin and the Byzantine church traditions were fused together, even though they became ecclesiastically separated later on. Subsequently, the name “Melkites” was appropriated by those of the Eastern Chalcedonians who entered the union with Rome. See Н. Н. СЕЛЕЗНЕВ, “Мелькиты” в арабо-мусульманском традиционном религиоведении [The “Melkites” in the Traditional Arab Muslim Religious Studies], Точки/Пuncta, 3–4/10 (2011), c. 27–38.
ming from the Coptic milieu, gained wide recognition, as witnessed by later Muslim and European sources.

SUMMARY

It is a conventional view that one of the most important denominations of Eastern Christianity — the Jacobites — owes its formation to the activity of the sixth-century Syrian bishop Jacob Baradaeus, and that it was called “Jacobite” after him. However, medieval sources show that the reality was more complex than that. Works by Egyptian Arabic authors, both Muslim and Christian, surveyed in this article, are of special interest because of a peculiar theory they advance: that the name “Jacobites” was derived from the lay name of Dioscorus, the Pope of Alexandria. The present study provides a comprehensive survey of the development of the different interpretations of the origins of the term.
SCRINNIUM

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Volume 9

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Selected papers presented at the Seventh Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society Annual Conference
(Luce Center, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, South Korea, July 5–7, 2012)
and Other Patristic Studies

Edited by
Pauline Allen, Vladimir Baranov, and Basil Lourié

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ВГ</td>
<td>Волшебная гора</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ЖМНП</td>
<td>Журнал Министерства народного просвещения</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ПС/ППС</td>
<td>(Православный) Палестинский сборник</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ТОДРЛ</td>
<td>Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ХВ</td>
<td>Христианский Восток</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ЧИОИДР</td>
<td>Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей Российской</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAN</td>
<td>Acta Antiqua Hungarica</td>
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<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Analecta bollandiana</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACW</td>
<td>Ancient Christian Writers</td>
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<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBTT</td>
<td>Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BETL</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSAC</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie Copte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byz</td>
<td>Byzantion</td>
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<tr>
<td>BZ</td>
<td>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</td>
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<tr>
<td>BHG</td>
<td>F. Halkin, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, 3 vols. (SH, 8a), Bruxelles, 1957; idem, Novum Auctarium BHG (SH, 65), Bruxelles, 1984</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAG</td>
<td>Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCGS</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCSL</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSCO</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOP</td>
<td>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECF</td>
<td>The Early Church Fathers</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECS</td>
<td>Eastern Christian Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>HTR</td>
<td>The Harvard Theological Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>JECS</td>
<td>Journal of Early Christian Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JJS</td>
<td>Journal of Jewish Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSP</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</td>
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<tr>
<td>LCL</td>
<td>Loeb Classical Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mansi</strong></td>
<td>J. D. Mansi (ed.), <em>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</em>, t. I sqq., Florentiae, Venetiis, 1759 sqq.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mus</strong></td>
<td><em>Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OC</strong></td>
<td><em>Oriens Christianus</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OCA</strong></td>
<td>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OCP</strong></td>
<td><em>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OEDS</strong></td>
<td>Oxford Early Christian Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OJC</strong></td>
<td>Orientalia Judaica Christiana</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OLA</strong></td>
<td>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</td>
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<td><strong>OrChr</strong></td>
<td>Orientalia Christiana</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PG</strong></td>
<td>J. P. Migne (acc.), <em>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca</em>, tt. 1–161, Parisiis, 1857–1866</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PL</strong></td>
<td>J. P. Migne (acc.), <em>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina</em>, tt. 1–225, Parisiis, 1841–1864</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PO</strong></td>
<td>Patrologia Orientalis</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PTS</strong></td>
<td>Patristische Texte und Studien</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>RÉB</strong></td>
<td><em>Revue des études byzantines</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SA</strong></td>
<td>Studia Anselmiana</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SBLAM</strong></td>
<td><em>Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SC</strong></td>
<td>Sources chrétiennes</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Scr</strong></td>
<td><em>Scriinium. Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique et d'histoire ecclésiastique</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SEA</strong></td>
<td>Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum</td>
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<td><strong>SH</strong></td>
<td>Subsidia Hagiographica</td>
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<td><strong>SOC</strong></td>
<td>Studia Orientalia Christiana</td>
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<td><strong>SP</strong></td>
<td><em>Studia Patristica</em></td>
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<td><strong>ST</strong></td>
<td>Studi e testi</td>
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<td><strong>STAC</strong></td>
<td>Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum</td>
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<td><strong>TCH</strong></td>
<td>Transformation of the Classical Heritage</td>
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<td><strong>ThH</strong></td>
<td>Théologie historique</td>
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<td><strong>ThS</strong></td>
<td><em>Theological Studies</em></td>
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<td><strong>TM</strong></td>
<td><em>Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation byzantines</em></td>
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<td><strong>VC</strong></td>
<td><em>Vigiliae Christianae</em></td>
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<td><strong>VC Supp.</strong></td>
<td>Supplements to <em>Vigiliae Christianae</em></td>
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<td><strong>VT Supp.</strong></td>
<td>Supplement to <em>Vetus Testamentum</em></td>
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<td><strong>WBS</strong></td>
<td>Wiener byzantinische Studien</td>
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<td>WMANT</td>
<td>Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament</td>
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